It can be said that from the time of the Conquest such information as we have about the Indians in their ramifications and languages we owe to the Missionary Fathers. Any attempt to write about these Indians whom the Spaniards found on our continent really has to take very specially into account the writings of these meritorious soldiers of Christ.

"The Matacos are also known by the names Mataguayos, Notenes, Vejoses, Ocoles, Malbalas, Chunupis (1) and others, according to location. All of them with only slight differences speak the same language and their customs are practically identical. They occupy the western part of central and southern Chaco, principally both banks of the Bermejo River and the right bank of the Pilcomayo." [599]

1. Not to be confused with the Chunupi-Vilelas.

"The number of these Indians is probably about 20,000. Some of them already have dealings with the frontier Christians, among whom they spend some time each year, working on their ranches; while others live in complete isolation from the whites, whom they regard as their enemies, and not without reason, especially the Argentines who for some years now have been systematically ousting them from their lands, persecuting and exterminating them. It is probable then that within a few years the Matacos will have undergone great changes in their manner of living and will have diminished in number. Be that as it may the present day Matacos are still constituents of quite a large tribe which is different in some respects from the others.

The Mataco is of middling stature, somewhat slim and of a dark coppery color; apathetic in nature, reserved and wary, his glance reflects suspicion and treachery. His manners are boorish and his person and physiognomy vile and repulsive. He is a thief by instinct and he also steals because he considers it his duty. He is long-suffering and warlike, lazy and dirty in habit and innately cowardly and vengeful. The individual members of the neighboring tribes are characterized by a mental alertness which, though untutored is there for all to see. Not so the Matacos, who are mentally sluggish and to whom one cannot even attribute astuteness, in spite of their being sneak thieves. They are admired by all for the apparent lack of feeling with which they endure insults and also for the cold-bloodedness with which they will stab an enemy or allow themselves to be stabbed."

000 of small stones contained in a hollow gourd which they hold in their hands and rattle to beat time."

764 "They bury their dead very close to the surface, being satisfied to dig a shallow pit into which they place the corpse half sitting up, with a few small branches beneath and on top of him and a little earth. Because of this it often comes about that jaguars, who can easily dig up these careless graves, get a taste for human flesh and become man-eaters. Sometimes the Indians put a little pot of water in the grave for the deceased's benefit. They also commonly burn a few things which he had used, and also his hut. The relatives of the deceased have to go to his burial place and lament over it, accompanying their cries with the pimpin. These wailings, according to the locality, are repeated for some days. They have also other [177] customs which they have picked up from the Tobas, to whom they are related and with whom they are friendly."

181 "It can be seen, then, that the Mataco tribe is at present a very miserable one. Their way of living and their customs, furthermore, ● 648 and the circumstances of our times together with the region in which they live do not point to a particularly happy future. It certainly cannot be said that the Matacos who live in Bolivian territory are declared enemies of the [607] whites or Christians, rather is it true that they sometimes work for them and say that they are friends of the whites and wish to be treated as such, in spite of the fact that this friendship seems feigned, a cloak under which they can the better steal and conceal themselves. They rustle the Christians' cattle which they exchange with the Tobas for horses, and these in turn they trade off to the Christians for other things they need, saying that they have captured these animals from their enemies."

181 "Across from the Mission of San Francisco de Pilcomayo and 787 on the banks of the river (the Pilcomayo River--Translator) are the ruins of the Mission of San Antonio, made up of Matacos brought together in 1863 and which, after having been in Bella Esperanza for two or three years were transferred to this place, where they stayed, in quite sizeable numbers, until 1879, in which year they escaped, although groups of them had fled and returned more than once before. While they remained at the Mission little or nothing could be accomplished with them in any way--they would not even consent to allowing their little children to be baptized when at the point of death. The

1:Pelleschi--68 C-5 (ca 1875) 1896 SI7 Mataco SI7
Chaco Indians SK4

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Argentine Geographic Institute

Volume XVIII

[173] The Mataco Indians and their Language

by
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Civil Engineer

PART ONE

Chapter I

Geographic Situation

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The Matacos are hemmed in on the West by the Salta border line and on the East by the Toba frontier. Caught thus between two enemies, they have of necessity formed alliances, the Eastern Matacos with the Tobas and the Western Matacos with the white colonists, each group warring upon the other. In spite of this division the Matacos hold to their common language jealously, although it is true that there are slight dialectal differences to be noted. Thus, for example, the Eastern Matacos almost invariably say "quiâ" and "tzâ" where their Western counterparts would say "châ," regardless of the fact that any one of these expressions is employed without difficulty by members of the same tribe. The same happens with "quiô," "tzô," "chô"; for example: "doe" can be "tzonaj," "quionâj."

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Each nation of Indians has its own territory and will go to war over the smallest patch of land just as we would. The land is also subdivided among the tribes of one nation and these may not overstep their bounds without causing war. These wars are very frequent for the many reasons set down elsewhere and because of the marauding spirit which dominates the Indians -- thus it is that whenever they learn that a tribe [174] has become rich, for one reason or another, in animals or

C M 763 775 554 766 550

man promises to do this and his companions by way of reward do him even greater honor at his funeral, thus augmenting the departed one's power for good in the spirit world. Do we not do likewise when we implore those who die in the odor of sanctity to intercede in heaven for us in our pilgrimage through this vale of tears?

Sorrow points up the basic similarity in all men, and the harmony of the human character in actions and speech, hopes and doubts, is never manifested more clearly than when confronted with a grave.

Chapter XI

Doctors

M C 755 753 [756]

In the Chaco there are both male and female doctors, but very few medicines, treatment being purely empirical because of the ignorance and superstition of those Indians. [209]

It is strange that the wild inhabitants of the Chaco have not discovered remedies, but that is the way it is, in part because of their lack of intelligence but mostly because of the superstition which grips them in all matters respecting disease and sickness.

They firmly believe that sickness is caused by an a'hot's getting into a person, and therefore all efforts are bent in the direction of getting rid of it by the only means possible, that is by conjuring it out.

It follows logically from this that their doctors cannot be other than witch doctors or priests or what have you. Apart from this their very superstition is a consequence of each person's need to free himself of a present evil and his ignorance as to how to bring this about. That generous measure of wit native to man does service as a middle road between ignorance and superstition.

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Nevertheless they realize their lack of efficacious remedies and also the superiority of the whites in this matter, in whom they have great faith as healers; while the poorer and more

Chaco Indians SI4

ignorant whites, in their turn, have a great deal of faith in the Indian witch doctors. C M 755 648

I know for a fact that rich ranchers have called Indians to come and treat them.

The witch doctors attempt to cure their patients by exorcising the a'hots by shouting, leaping, and blowing and spitting into the sick person's mouth. They prescribe, along with this exorcising activity, certain homeopathic remedies such as dieting, bathing and I believe massaging also. M 755

The faith which they place in their incantations does not wane even in the presence of white man's medicine.

It happened once while we were on board the river boat that the boat stuck fast in the mud. A number of Indians surrounded us and a group of them brought forward a sick Indian for us to cure. We did not have our interpreter with us on that occasion, but I was able to put my notes to some use and finally understood that the invalid had been bitten by a snake: -- "Chiasquietáj-Kía" -- "snake-bite remedy" was what they were saying. M 123 755

We had a small medicine chest and hurriedly applied ammonia to the bite. It was extremely important for us that the outcome of our ministrations be a positive one for we needed to gain prestige and also friends among the Indians, for relations were strained and some days previously we had been ambushed by a group of them who had then fired on us at point blank range.

Our patient, however, improved very slowly and there were times during the first three days -- a superstitiously critical period -- in which we had serious doubts of his recovering, because the swelling kept growing upwards towards the groin and belly and, if it had reached the area close to the heart all would have been over for him.

During this whole period of treatment -- which was carried on in a pretty rigorous fashion, [210] the situation hardly calling for ladies with kid gloves -- the patient took only water, as the witch doctors prescribed, and then, during the night while the crew slept, the doctors would begin to chant húu húu húu... héé héé héé... híi híi híi... and then once more húu húu húu, etc. Every now and again they would spit and blow like so many bellows upon the wound and other parts of the body, keeping this up for hours on end.

Those pots which are used to contain water have an indented waistline around which a rope may be passed when they need to be transported. This rope, running around the jar, is slipped over the carrier's forehead and the vessel is carried on his back, to which effect he must bend back and neck forward. This manner of transportation is no where near as graceful as that of carrying jars on the head as our country women do, and rather makes the Indian women look like beasts of burden -- however, it may well be a more hygienic way and is, in any case, more practical when traveling along half choked forest paths.

They have no knowledge of, and do not practice, agriculture; yet they do sometimes plant corn (which, as is well known, originated in America) and also pumpkins. When they think it is time to go and eat the crop, they harvest it. They do not grind the corn, but boil it and the pumpkins also while they are yet green -- a harvest, then, is gathered in piece meal and lasts quite a long time. In order to sow they make use of a hard wood spade in the form of a small oar, or a large spear head; the husband makes a hole in the earth, his squaw throws in the seed, covers it, and that is all. The seed is sown in a recently burned off, damp field, that is, one which has just been rained on.

The crop is owned communally by all, but they are nigardly with it concerning outsiders. While we were on the ship, most of our food having run out, we hungered for fresh provisions and vegetables, for we had been without them for more than three months. When the Indians made us a present of pumpkins and ears of corn we were more than delighted. These Indians were friendly, but later on their friendliness proved false for they killed our interpreter. The sailors managed to discover the location of the pumpkin patch and corn field and raided them by stealth. On the following day, when they returned to the cultivated plots they found that everything had been destroyed and not a single growing plant was left. We were never able to find even one of the Indians.

It seems, also, that the whites do not want the Indians to take up agriculture. I was told that the white settlers once [215] came upon a number of fields sown by friendly frontier Indians, and destroyed them so completely that the discouraged Indians had never again planted so much as a handbreadth of land. This action

stemmed from the desire which the whites have of keeping the Indians from settling and taking possession (a fact recognized by Argentine law) of the excellent land which the local whites look upon as legitimate prey for the future.

They do not indulge in commercial enterprises; and how could they possibly do so when they have no agriculture or industries, being only wanderers and nomads? However, they do practice barter on a small scale, which is their only form of primitive, embryonic commerce. They do not have words for "buying and selling," and in order to express this idea it would seem that they had gone to some of school of economics to learn the exchange formula do ut des, for, strangely enough the Matacos, for example, instead of saying "sell me" say atquiocq niquiocq, which means "give me I give you."

One can gather from this that they have no form of money; but they have invented a word to signify our coins, which is tdócq kynat among the Matacos and which means hide or skin of metal. Kynat is a generic word which covers all metals which do not exist or circulate in the Chaco. It would appear from this that it is a word invented prior to the appearance of paper money.

Nevertheless there is a sort of medium of exchange, though in only an incipient stage, among the inhabitants of the Chaco. It is a substance which the Indians use to paint themselves with and which is highly valued by them even in the smallest amounts. In Santa Cruz de la Sierra the plant which produces it is called urucú. This paint is obtained by boiling the fruit of the urucú for twenty-four hours, when the coloring matter floats to the top and is collected and made into small pellets of varying sizes. The dye is exuded from the skin of the fruit, which is about the size of an orange. The fruit with a blackist skin produces a black dye, the one with yellow skin gives an orange or red dye and the fruit having a white skin produces a green dye. The skin on the yellow and white varieties is about as thick as the outer covering on a walnut. Each one of the three grows on a different kind of urucú, all of which are plants which grow to be about as tall as a man, with fruit about the size of a pomegranate which split open of their own accord when they are ripe.

Although this substance is produced and made in Bolivia, it is current among all the Chaco Indians and is used by them to

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

133 the river Pilcomayo, following its sinuous course, and this is practically the only way known to white people hitherto. An explorer who undertook to penetrate at random into the interior of the unknown country east of the river, without being accompained by Indian guides, would be almost sure to perish from thirst within a few days. Many promising expeditions into the Chaco have ended disastrously in this way. Only the natives know where the few water places are to be found. Generally these consist of small pools, the stinking brown or green water of which seems almost undrinkable to a white man; but the explorer soon finds it good enough even for him and it will save the life both of man and beast

• 148 Another danger to the explorer is the hostility of the savage natives who inhabit the country. This aspect of the Chaco tribes has become almost proverbial owing to the fact that several explorers have met a disastrous end at the hands of the savage Indians. In our own days the best known of these unfortunate explorers are Crevaux, Ibareta, and Boggiani, of whom the first mentioned was killed by the Toba Indians on the banks of the Rio Pilcomayo, at the place which still bears his name. Several expeditions have tried to explore the country, following the course of the Pilcomayo down to its confluence with the Rio Paraguay, but the first which succeeded was the Bolivian expediton under D. Campos in 1883. The interior of the Chaco, however, is still to a great extent unknown, and ethnographic exploration of this interesting country did not begin until a few decades ago.

114 The above description of the Chaco has particular reference to the Argentine and Bolivian Gran Chaco and more especially to the regions on both sides of the river Pilcomayo, of which I have acquired personal knowledge. My ethnological studies have in fact been limited to the most important of the tribes inhabiting that region, tribes which, when I first visited them, were very imperfectly known. The Pilcomayo is the largest of the few affluents that the great river Paraguay receives from the west. For the main part of its course the river flows through very little known country, and the tribes that have settled on its banks or roam about on the grassy plains or in the thickets of the interior still live completely — or at any rate did live at the time when I visited them — in a state of nature. The most important of these tribes are the Mataco, the Choroti, the Tobas, and the Ashluslay, who live partly on the right (Argentine), partly on the left (Bolivian) side of the river. The Mataco, the Choroti, and the Ashluslay, who linguistically are closely related to each other, form a group of their own. The Tobas, although a typical Chaco tribe, both

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
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guaya moderna is essentially a compilation founded on the works of Campos, Cardús, and other writers [1]). The same holds true of the monograph of Father Ducci which, besides, only deals with one sub-tribe of the Tobas on the lower Pilcomayo. [2])

The ethnological studies of the Toba tribe contained in this book mainly refer, as appears from my previous statements, to the Bolivian Tobas, but also to the Toba Pilagá of Argentine. I met the latter at the sugar factories of Esperanza in June 1912, and moreover, some of my Indian informants in Bolivia were from Argentine or had lived among their kinsmen there. The general culture of the Pilagá, as already pointed out, is much the same as that of the Bolivian Tobas, although on the whole they seem to have preserved their old customs better than the latter.

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The third tribe visited by me were the *Mataco*. Next to the Tobas, the Mataco form the largest of the Argentine Chaco tribes, but only a part of them may still be said to live in a state of nature. Three principal Mataco tribes can be distinguished. One of them inhabits the corner in northern Argentine roughly limited by Tartagal in the west and Rio Bermejo — an affluent of the Pilcomayo — in the south. These Mataco are called Vejós and are those most strongly influenced by civilization. The second tribe, known under the name of Mataco-Guisnay, lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo about ten leagues south of Fortín Guachalla. The third tribe, called Mataco-Nocténes — occupies the great triangle roughly formed by lines connecting the villages Yacuiba, Villa Montes, and Crevaux. Those Nocténes who live on the right bank of the Pilcomayo, between Villa Montes and Crevaux, have preserved their original culture best. Among these Indians I spent about one month in October and November 1912. They are culturally closely related to the Tobas living on the other side of the river, and intermarriage between the two tribes is frequent. Still the Nocténes speak their own language which, apart from certain dialectal differences, is the same as that spoken by the Vejós and the Guisnay. The Mataco language shows great affinity to the Choroti language which justifies us in referring both tribes to one and the same principal group. A third Chaco tribe of the same group are probably the Ashluslay, the language of which is unfortunately so far quite unknown to us.

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[1]) Boggiani, *Compendio de etnografia Paraguaya moderna*. Asunción, 1900.

[2]) Fray Zacarias Ducci, *Los Tobas de Taccagalé con arte y vocabulario Toba-castellano*. Buenos Aires, 1904.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

361 181 In Chaco, both the primitive methods of constructing the houses and the peculiar character of the social life must to a great deal be explained by the fact that the Chaco Indians are nomads, unable to remain long in any one place and driven by resistless forces from one part of the country to another. Both their enemies, partly other Indian tribes, partly men of an altogether different race, and nature itself have always compelled them to live a nomadic life. It is a well known fact that the interior of the Chaco has for many centuries been a place of refuge for savage tribes driven to these inhospitable regions against their own will, under the pressure of superior forces. Still more do natural conditions force the Indians to wander: vast inundations at certain seasons, complete lack of water at others, and a variety of considerations arising from the necessity of obtaining a livelihood. When pasture or game is getting scarce in one place, the Indans change their abode and move to another place where it is easier to feed their flocks and to eke out their store of food by hunting. Agriculture, although practised to a very limited extent, may also at times compel the Chaco Indians to seek new dwelling-places. But — as Mr. Grubb rightly observes with special reference to the Lenguas of Paraguay — the Chaco Indian is often driven to forsake home and friends merely by his restless spirit, »the result of generations of hard and peculiar circumstances fixing a habit upon him which becomes second nature». The mere desire to wander and to get a change, or perhaps to see relatives and friends living in another part of the country, may induce an Indian to abandon his house and to move away with his wife and children and his whole property. Superstition works in the same direction. When a death occurs in a house, that house is as a general rule destroyed and burnt, and if an epidemic causes several deaths within a short time, the whole village is destroyed and thereafter abandoned by its inhabitants. The Indians cannot persuade themselves to continue living in a place which is evidently haunted by evil spirits.

361 ● 648 Distant savage Chaco tribes have been in the habit of abandoning and destroying their villages after they have been visited by white men. In some cases the Indians, as soon as they have got to know through their spies that a party of white men are approaching, have burnt their villages and retired to the interior, unexplored parts of the country. Both Nordenskiöld and other travellers have noted with astonishment this custom of the Chaco tribes. Its true motives are to be sought partly in a natural fear of the whites, of whom the Indians have frequently had sad experience, but above all in superstitious dread of the mysterious disease-spirits

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which the strangers are believed to bring with them. The whole place, according to the idea of the Indians, has become infected as it were by the new-comers. Besides, the Indians understand that one party of white men is soon followed by another.

It is natural that the Chaco Indians should not care to bestow great labour on dwellings which in all probability will house them only for a short time, or in general, to arrange their life more comfortably in a place which they will probably soon be obliged to desert for ever. Apart from this, the Chaco Indian, who is perfectly suited to his environment, constructs his houses precisely in the way he thinks is most practical and of the material which is most easily obtainable. In the interior parts of the Chaco there are no large trees affording material for the construction of more substantial and durable houses. On the other hand, the scraggy trees and bushes in which the Chaco forests abound and the grassy plains provide building material in abundance, always within reach and excellent for the needs of the Indians. The beehive shaped huts of the primitive Chaco tribes therefore do not, as a certain ethnological school asserts, represent a type of human dwelling essentially characteristic of tribes at the lowest stages of cultural development, but must be wholly explained by the natural conditions. Like the Fuegians, who in their general culture are closely related to the Chaco tribes, the latter are not, on the whole, any lower in the scale of human development than most other tribes in tropical or sub-tropical South America, although nature may allow these to construct habitations of a higher type.

The same reasoning evidently accounts for the fact that the Pilcomayo tribes, although they are dependent on the river and to a great extent subsist by fishing, do not use canoes or craft of any kind. Whereas »dug-outs» of the kind customary among the South American Indians are commonly used by the Lenguas and other tribes of the river Paraguay, the Choroti, Mataco, Tobas, and Ashluslay have not even thought of constructing such vessels, obviously because the large timber trees from which canoes could be dug out are not obtainable in their country.

I have mentioned that agriculture is only practised by the Chaco tribes on a very limited scale, which of course is due to the dryness of the climate. Among all tribes the land is common property, and within this territory each family has a small plot of land allotted to it, or once taken possession of, which they are supposed to possess as long as they actually cultivate it. Pumpkin, *santia* (water melon), and beans are the principal crops of the Choroti; maize and manioc are also cultivated, but the drought

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Chapter X.

Visiting. Communication with other tribes. Trade.

●648 Within the different sub-tribes there is frequent visiting between the families, and similarly there is frequent communication between those sub-tribes which live on a friendly footing with one another. The Choroti likewise have intercourse with certain foreign tribes, especially with the Ashluslay on the lower Pilcomayo and the Tapiete and the Avas on the northern course of the river. With the Mataco on the other hand, the Choroti have at times had strained relations, and the warlike Tobas they fear, avoiding as far as possible having anything to do with them. The friendly intercourse and trade between certain Chaco tribes, who perhaps live at great distances from one another, is of considerable ethnological interest.

574 Among all Indians, visiting is always a more or less ceremonial matter, but in the Chaco these ceremonies are comparatively simple. In their everyday life, when meeting out on the plain or in the forest, the Indians do not use any particular words of salutation. On the other hand, when an [576] Indian pays a visit to another house, and especially when he visits the house of a neighbouring tribe, he, on entering, only pronounces a word equivalent to »I come», »I arrive»; in the Choroti and Mataco language this is *kañām*, in the Toba language *nóvyi*. The host only answers with a word which means, »it is good» (in the Choroti language *eis*, in the Mataco and Ashluslay language *is*, in the Toba *nóin* or *nōtta*). The guest can now take a seat at the door but keeps silence until he is spoken to. This is the rule in all cases where the guest is known and regarded as a friend. If algaroba beer and food is offered to him, this is a particular sign of friendship, and the guest may thereafter speak and move about freely as if he were at home. On the other hand, when the visitor is not welcome but regarded with hatred and suspicion the Indians turn the back and

[p. 98]

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Toba SI 12

to barter with those whom they look upon as their friends and to whom they are paying the visit in question. It is not considered proper that outsiders, be they Indians of other villages or whites, should interfere.

I may add that my own barter with the Indians always had the character of an exchange of presents. When I visited the Indian villages where I was known, I usually received presents of fish, fruits, etc., but it was always understood that these presents should be paid back in some form. Similarly, when I myself gave the Indians presents I usually received something in return, except when the presents — for instance the necessary presents of tobacco — were regarded as a natural tribute wich I had to pay for permission to stay in the village. Everyone who travels among Indians should bear in mind that Indian hospitality always means that something must be given in return, and that the traveller who neglects his duty on this point will necessarily be regarded as greedy.

The Functions of the Chief

627 The ex-chief of the San Andrés region, on the Pilcomayo river, was the famous Cuchitoro, who received three leagues of land along the river from the government of Argentina. The present day chief of this region is called Santiago, and he was made chief by the white colonizers who hoped to win him to their service. Nevertheless, Santiago remained loyal to his people.

The principal functions of the chief, according to their [648] description to me at San Andrés, consist nowadays in representing his tribe before the whites and in patching up, amicably, any conflicts 622 arising between groups of Indians in his territory. If a murder is com- 627 mitted in one group it is the chief's duty to require the killer's family 682 to pay the blood price. The amount of such compensation depends upon the social status of the victim. If it is a matter of an old and inactive man the loss is considered of little importance and a couple of goats and an old rifle are sufficient to re-establish friendly relations between the victim's and the murderer's groups. In other cases the injured party demands a horse, three goats, a rifle, etc. If the blood price is put too high the chief in charge of the matter may seek out the head of the dead man's family and ask him to lower the price. [14]

682 In former times the law of an eye for an eye was meticulously carried out. The Indians of San Andrés had killed a man from a neighboring village whose inhabitants then emigrated to the Bermejo river. Fifteen years later a nephew of the dead man made the entire trip from the Bemejo to the Pilcomayo to square matters with the murderers and killed, in his turn, one of the Indians of the village. He then returned to the Bermejo without being pursued.

726 The last Indian war took place in the San Andrés region in 1928. The people of the village of San Martín attacked San Andrés, under cover of darkness. Firing continued until daylight, but--as often happens in these battles--no one was killed or wounded. Some time later the people of Yuto joined with the inhabitants of San Andrés to attack the San Martín Indians. They passed by the Mission composed and dressed for war, painted and adorned with feathers. Before the attack they executed a war dance in the bed of the Pilcomayo river,

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Matacos or Noctenes

M 131 648 This tribe is also very numerous; it lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo River, occupying the part opposite the zone occupied by the Toba, with whom they maintain friendly relations which are disturbed from time to time, especially at the time when the algarrobas and other fruits ripen.

M 799 177 A group of these Indians in times past formed a part of the San Antonio del Pilcomayo Mission, where today the Chaco Delegation is located, occupying the mission buildings. But because they are as fickle, or perhaps more so, than the Toba, Religion and the State could make little progress with such Indians.

M 131 197 648 T 186 These Indians are very numerous and in small groups extend as far as the shores of the Bermejo; their language is totally different from that of the other tribes and they hardly mix, although they maintain friendly relations with the Toba, to whom they are considered to be inferior.

M 181 578 273 Their physiognomy is overly languid; sadness can be read in their faces, and they are very miserable; nevertheless they are ferocious in war, in jealousy, or in a state of drunkenness; they injure and kill one another. Out of these considerations the women refrain from drinking to the state of inebriation in order to prevent their husbands' disorders and to hide the weapons in the event of the outbreaks which frequently occur (1).

M 273 [171] M [243]

1. In the drinking bouts they are the same as the Toba; they make a mead from the fruits of the algarroba, which is almost as intoxicating as brandy; they also make mead from other wild fruits; they do not make chicha because they hardly plant maize.

M 181 721 648 They are more peaceful Indians than the Toba, are not very warlike, and do not attack the houses of the whites but profit when they can from the latter's cattle, especially should a famine break out due to a lack of wild fruits.

Mataco SI7
Choroti SK6

M /320 cont./

771 They have a vague idea of superior beings, whom they fear
776 without worshiping them; the cleverest one becomes the sorcerer
756 and exploits the poverty of his companions, especially today when
648 they are earning money from the whites, to whom they lend im-
464 portant services.

M They frequently move from the region that they occupy to
169 the Argentine Republic; they work, dress, learn some Spanish
177 and a slight smattering of civilization, and return to their lands to live as before.

Choroti

Ci
131 The zone located southeast of Toba territory is occupied
197 by the Choroti Indians, who have their own language. They occupy the geographic degree 22° 30' latitude and 64° 10' longitude, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River.

Ci They are quite numerous and peaceful, and they are not
181 treacherous like their neighbors, the Toba. Nevertheless, they
648 inspire respect in all the neighboring tribes; if a mission were to be established at said degree, the conquest of all the Bolivian territory /321/ up to 24° would be accomplished without the need of so many small forts, which are such a great expense to the Nation and which do not create centers of trade and civilization.

Ci Father Gianelli in years past visited the Choroti Indians,
797 was received with displays of affection and appreciation, and
177 found among them good inclinations toward becoming civilized, but at that time the harvest was too much for so few evangelical workers.

Ci The Choroti are not so lazy and savage as the other tribes;
181 they devote themselves to the cultivation of a few seeds and to
241 the raising of cattle, although on a small scale. They are also
231 hunters, however, and when they occupy the banks of the
224 Pilcomayo, they take advantage of the fruits the river brings them, especially in the great floods.